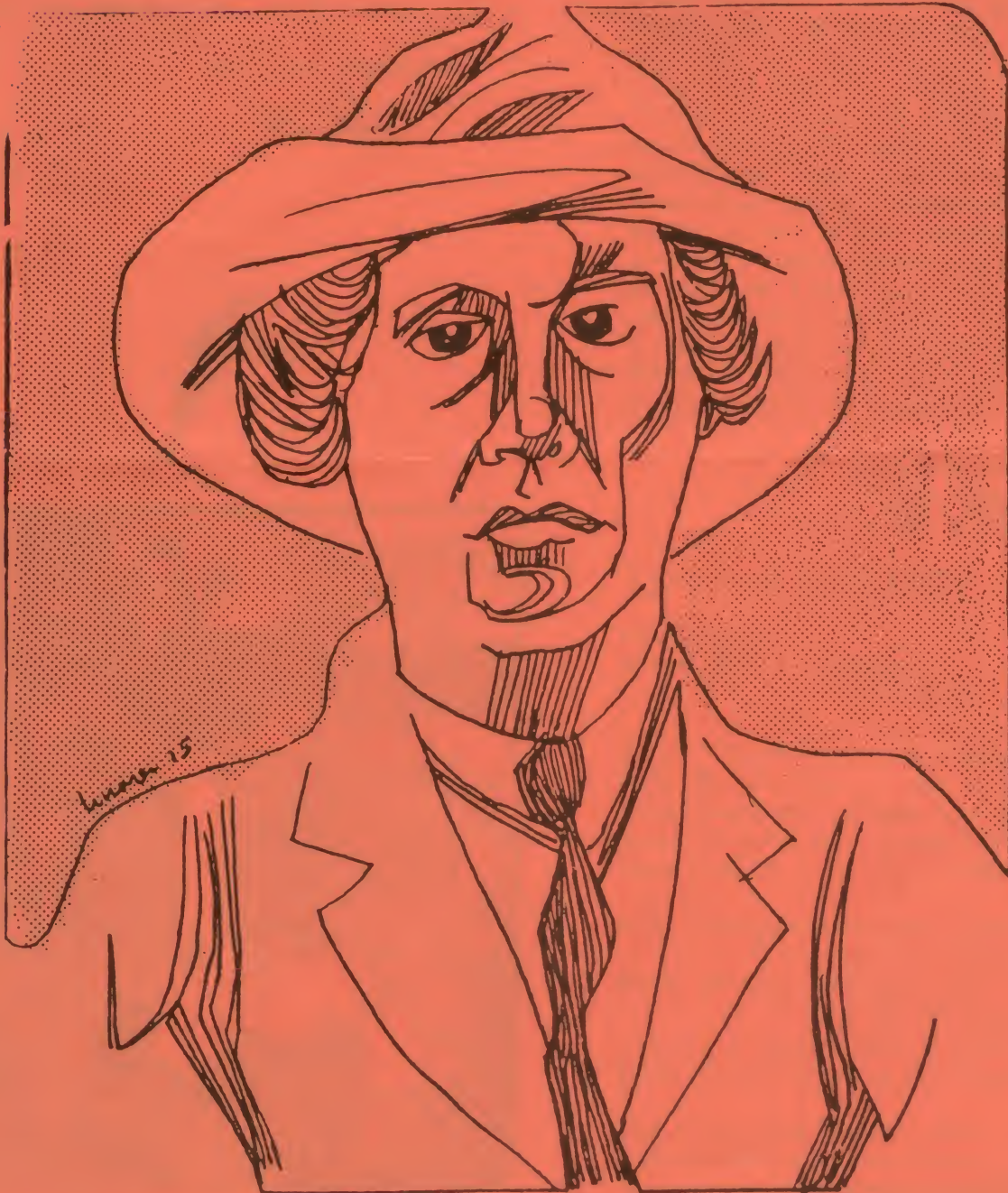


fall 1978

**ANARCHIST-**

**FEMINIST NOTES**



LUISA CAPETILLO



## NOTE TO THE READERS:

The Anarchist-Feminist Notes is produced collectively by women across the country. A different woman's group produces it approximately every three months. Some may notice that the name I used, when laying out the front page, is the original one that was chosen after the merger of the Anarchist Feminist Network Notes and The Emma Goldman Feminist Newsletter. Originally the two existed independently. It was decided since both publications had many subscribers in common, to join the efforts to reduce cost. When the merger took place it was decided that the name be "Anarchist Feminist Notes". Some where along the line it was changed arbitrarily. I feel that by changing the name to "Anarca-Feminist Notes" the impression was given that Anarchism plays second fiddle to Feminism. I am of the opinion that Anarchism provides many theoretical insights independent of Feminism. If we are to be "Anarchist-Feminists" and not merely quasi-anarchist persuasion the development of Anarchist ideas as well as the contributions of Feminism.

Sedition and Love,

*Mi Mi*

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## NEXT PRODUCTION GROUP!

Anarchist-Feminist Notes  
c/o Pattison, 96 Rockview St.,  
Jamaicaplain, MA 02130

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

The production cost for this issue was \$60.00 for 500 issues. The mailing will approximately cost 41¢ per issue.

This issue was printed by a male. An anarchist-communist who donated his time, equipment and labor. Had he not made this contribution this issue would have costed \$161.40.

I received \$20.00 in contributions. The rest will unfortunately be paid by me. I hope you enjoy this issue.

Sedition and Love,

*Mi Mi*



Joan Miro, 'Man With a Pipe'  
Gouache



# Free Women In Spain

MUJERES LIBRES (Free Women) is an anarchist-feminist women's organization which was originally founded shortly before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July of 1936. Most of its militants were peasant women from the villages although it also had many militants in major cities. They dedicated all of their efforts to the education and awareness of women and, in the midst of the unexpected war, aided the anti-fascist cause by sending food and clothing to the fronts, taking orphans into centers created by them for the purpose, preparing women to be incorporated into factories and to nurse the wounded, and many more forms of helping and working for the cause. They also created a center for the education of prostitutes and published a bulletin in which they explained their ideas and activities and in which they denounced the attitudes of many men who called themselves anarchists and yet treated "their" women as servants.

However, Mujeres Libres did not limit their efforts to the winning of the war against the fascist threat; they also took active part in the anarchist revolution taking place simultaneous to the Civil War in agriculture and in the cities.

In late 1976-early 1977 small groups of young women (mostly university students), inspired by the principles and actions of the Mujeres Libres of 1936-39 (when they were dissolved by the fascist victory), joined to reorganize the organization keeping more or less the same line followed in the thirties.

Their manifesto was published in the organ of the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor) recently, and it reflects the present forms of discrimination suffered by Spanish women today. Most, if not all of these problems have already been solved by women's organizations of different tendencies in countries like the United States but are still present in today's Spain.

Published in Spanish in FRAGUA SOCIAL, Organo de la Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo del Pais Valencia; Cuarta Epoca, 1978, No. 11. (Translated into English by Maria Rodriguez Gil)

## FREE WOMEN

### Manifesto

#### I. THE SITUATION OF WOMEN

Oppression and discrimination against women in this society is present on the economic level as well as on the ideological level. Both of these levels are closely related and mutually reinforce each other.

##### A. The Economic Level

We will consider the level of economic oppression in its double aspects as non remunerative domestic work, and as remunerative work outside of the home.

**Domestic Work.** - Domestic work is necessary for society. It represents the reproduction and maintenance of the labor force. However, this role is assigned to women for the mere circumstance of being female; they are not paid for doing this type of work since it is not organized in accordance with the principles to remunerative types of work. Domestic work maintains women tied and subjected to the home, placing them under economic submission to their husbands.

**Remunerative Work.** - Women that work outside of the home do so under inferior conditions in respect to men of their same class or level of cultural and professional preparation. This is clearly manifested in the following facts:

1. Women generally receive lower salaries than men in exchange for the same amount of work or because they occupy lower paying work posts.

2. In general, women have access to a more limited number of trades; these tending to coincide with the lowest paying, unsafest types of trades.

Maria Rodriguez Gil





3. Women are offered fewer possibilities than men for professional training and promotion.

4. Women are generally forced to work a double shift by having to do the housework once their work is done at the office, factory, etc.

## B. The Ideological Level and Every Day Life

Juridically.- The law has always considered women inferior to men and as eternal "minors" or as retarded beings.

Education.- Neither for men or for women is education an aid in the development of their human potentials. Ed-



ucation is but a learning of the sexual roles that male society has assigned to all of us. However, men are educated with more emphasis placed on the values and aspects considered as being socially and economically more "valuable" or rewarding (aggressiveness, competitiveness, initiative, spirit of achievement in business, the capacity for developing a career, etc.). Women, on the contrary, are prepared and educated to exist only to play a passive role in the world -- a world in which they can only be subservient to others (servants, raising children, caring for the elderly, housework, etc.).

Politics.- The exclusion of women in centers of political decisionmaking (of the right or left wing alike) is widely acknowledged by most people.

However, neither of these two political tendencies have ever hesitated in using women to achieve their own ends: The first --established power-- has used women as a conservative brake (the submissive female strike-breaker, carrier of the dominating ideologies in the family), and the second --the so called opposition-- has only granted



any importance to women when considering them a part of the electoral mass, while their own female militants have always occupied second and third class positions in their parties or organizations.

Culture.- Understanding it in its most general sense: Film, literature, language, etc., culture is in most cases the expression and reinforcement of the male value system which considers as "natural and inborn" exclusively male attributes which are only culturally acquired.

## II. FACTORS THAT MAINTAIN THIS SITUATION

Who is interested in maintaining this situation of discrimination against women, or will only modify its least transcendent aspects?

### A. Men:

Husbands, fathers, etc., use this oppressive situation to alleviate their frustrations created by this alienating society. In the last instance, discrimination interests those who wish to maintain this oppressive society.

### B. The Dominating Class:

1. By having women do the domestic work, the capitalist saves part of the costs of reproduction and maintenance of the labor force, that is, the production of goods necessary for society through the realization of non remunerative work.

2. Considering women responsible for reproduction and for the domestic work, that is, fundamentally as "housewives," the existence of a cheap and always available work force is facilitated for capitalism when it needs it; it perpetuates the concept of women (especially of married women) as a permanent army-like reserve.

3. The confinement of women within the domestic walls perpetuates the family as a unit for the concept of women as the perfect carriers





of the dominating scale of values.

### III. HOW WE UNDER STAND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DISCRIMINA- TION



As we have already stated, the material base for discrimination and the cultural and ideological frame-work are related to each other and reinforce each other and reinforce each other in order to maintain this situation of oppression against women. Because of this, we believe that the liberation of women can only be achieved not only by the destruction of this economic base but also by the simultaneous destruction of the ways and habits of living and thinking that form part of it. Therefore, the struggle for the liberation of women must be carried out in the revolutionary fronts along with the working class, as well as within a specifically feminist front, as is done in the cases of other oppressed sectors in society (such as youth, homosexuals, racials, etc.).

Thus, following along the traditional lines of division between economic liberation and sexual liberation, we believe:

1. The incorporation of women into the field of remunerative work, meaning their insertion into the different forms of production, can provide them with economic independence and permit them to leave the confinement of their golden cells (in most cases not so golden) by being able to cope and to participate in greater measure in collective problems. This however, does not imply in itself the liberation of women, firstly, because remunerative work is both alienating and stupefying (for women and men alike); secondly, because women will always be discriminated against in respect to men in these fields of work, and thirdly, because for different reasons women will continue to assume their roles as housewives during their free time and they will also continue to be used as "lure" in a consumers society such as ours. On the other hand, we cannot forget that the growing incorporation of women into the productive process responds also to the system's own needs. In spite of all this, we consider as necessary the struggle for the liberation of



massive departing from the home, and their incorporation into the field of remunerative work.

2. Although issues such as the struggle to depenalize adultery, birth control and free abortions, to legalize divorce, and to eliminate juridical distinctions between legitimate, illegitimate and natural children are points which can be assimilated by the system, they also represent for women the liberation from specific ties which are considerable obstacles in the making of decisions freely and in the taking of specific stands by women themselves (ties such as the concept of sex as procreation, marriage for life, marriage as the only structure under which it is permissible to have children and sexual intercourse, etc.).

Although the liberation of women can only be achieved through a radical change in society and the vindications we present do not in themselves attack the capitalist system, we do believe that they in some measure contribute to the weakening of the basis on which this system rests.



### VINDICATIONS

The vindications put forward on this platform do not in themselves imply the liberation of women; they may even be partly assimilated by the system. On the other hand, they are such obvious issues that it is tedious to still have to struggle to defend them. The absence of discrimination against people because of their sex does not necessarily imply their liberation, being that sexual exploitation (even though it is very old and basic) is not the only kind of exploitation suffered by the inhabitants of a society which functions by authority and brute, barbaric force, and whose values are of an absolutely mercantile character: Only what is saleable is good.

Enough already! We must abolish all those customs, myths, moral values, laws and other tales that maintain women (and indirectly men) as victims and support the present system.

1. In this manner, for example, though the mission of education is to



convert. all of us --male and female-- into pieces that are insertable into the system instead of developing each individual's potentials, the truth is that it emphasizes the conversion of women into second class individuals not fit to compete in the more highly valued activities of the actual society (professional training, dynamism and aggressiveness, "spirit of achievement," etc.); although these may not be the qualities which interest us from a future society, we do believe it necessary to fight for equality in the education of children by carrying out the following:

- The assigning of the courses according to the interests and qualifications of the student and not according to his/her sex.
- The level of education should be equal for male and female students alike.
- To cease assigning to professors specific courses which are considered either of a "masculine" or of a "feminine" nature.
- To cease using education in the schools or outside of them as a means of conditioning the boy into becoming "a tough guy" and the girl into becoming a "silly fem."
- Free education should be made available to all, since especially when there is lack of money, the fathers always give priority to the son's education over the daughter's.

2. On the other hand, even though remunerative work is the most brutalizing means of earning a meal, we consider it necessary for women today to incorporate themselves into this type of activity, basically in order to obtain economic independence in respect to men and also to establish a more realistic contact with the world than that contact which pots and pans can offer them. For the achievement of this, we make the following demands:

- Stability on the job and equal opportunities of promotion for men and women alike.
- Equal access to professional training.
- No discrimination in salary between the two sexes.
- No discrimination due to pregnancy or marriage, since both affect and should become the responsibility of the father,

husband, family, and of society itself.

3. Patriarchal marriage and families not only form the base for the present system, but also form the "ghettos" where discrimination against women is present in its most grotesque form. We believe that sexual and emotional unions between individuals should be formed through the making of absolutely free decisions (be it to unite or to separate) by the individuals involved. There exist today, however, a certain number of marriages to which the right of separation is denied and should be indisputably affirmed. To achieve this right, we demand:

- The freedom to divorce without further proceedings than the freely expressed desire to do so by one or both partners.
- Being that one of the key functions imposed upon the family in this society is the reproduction and maintenance of the capitalist labor force, it must be the capitalist who pays for the services of nursery schools, dining halls, etc., for his/her workers.

4. We reject the established ideology, which ~~has~~ been sanctioned by laws and is an instrument for the domination of people and an obstacle in their personal development and happiness. We denounce the audacity of this established power in trying to regulate matters in such personal spheres as are sexual and emotional relationships and --if that wasn't enough-- in judging what is considered "crimes" differently according to sex. We understand sexuality to be a form of pleasure and communication and therefore, no further hindrances to its free expression should exist than those decided by the persons directly involved at the relevant moment. We demand the following:

- The annulment of the so called sex crimes.
- The abolishment of the law of the Socially Dangerous.\*
- The abolishment of the existing jurisdictional and moral distinctions between men and women.
- Sex education for all, free access to birth control methods, access to free abortions, etc.



In summary, we reject all of those societies that are based upon the private property of the means of production and upon the lack of the individual's self-determination --man or woman-- in making decisions over their own lives. These principles of repression bring cultural and sexual misery and, in general, a lack of natural vitality.

\* In Spain there exists a law called La Ley of Peligrosidad Social. This law states that certain individuals are dangerous to society and its moral codes, and that these individuals should be imprisoned or re-educated. Thieves, and other "common criminals" as well as homosexuals are included under this law, as well as "hobos" and other such individuals.



-ZEPHYR-



## KEEP THOSE BUGS OUT NATURALLY



Common plant oils, foodstuffs and household items can be extremely effective in the treatment of insect infestations. They can be used as sprays, dusts, bait or as rinses and baths.

To make a spray from plant oils, chop or grind plant and equal part of water; strain, if necessary; and mix with emulsifiers, such as fish oil and liquid soap. As oil tends to separate out, use the spraying solution as soon as possible.

\* A strong soap and water solution sprayed on affected plants will rid them of aphids and mites.

\* Garlic oil spray is effective against onion flies, aphids, thrips and ermine moth. (onion and chive solutions are also effective)

\* Mineral oil applied to corn silk with an eye dropper (wait until silks have turned brown) will eliminate corn ear-

\* Some organic gardeners have discovered that insecticides can be made from local plants, often weeds, that are resistant to the infestation. Ask a local organic gardener for advice on types of plants to use.

\* Table salt sprinkled on slugs and snails is lethal.

\* Hot pepper, salt and sour milk spray has proven effective on cabbage maggot.

\* Shallow saucers of beer sunk to soil level lure slugs to their death.

\* Coriander and anise oil emulsified can be used to kill aphids and mites.

\* Hot pepper spray works well on ants, spiders, tomato worms and caterpillars.

\* Wood ashes stewn at the base of plants or as borders ward off slugs and root maggots.

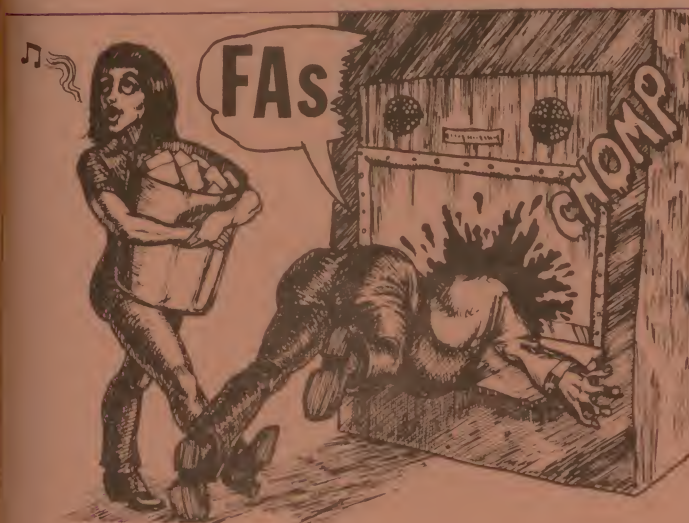
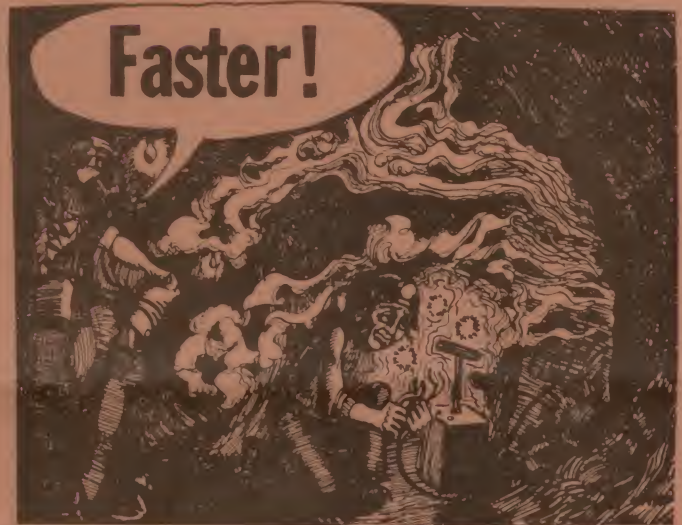
\* Denatured alcohol can be used on house plants to rid them of mealybugs.

\* Garlic repels aphids from roses, fruit trees, and cabbages. Plant the cloves near these flowers, fruits and vegetables.

\*\*\*\*\*



# SPEEDUPS CAUSE BREAKDOWNS



SUPPORT THE BREAKDOWN  
OF YOUR CHOICE



-Adapted from "Slowdown and Live", an I. W. W. pamphlet.





## THE JADED MR. JACKSON

Recently Mr. **Jesse** Jackson, of Chicago, has been creating a ruckus and is supposedly helping to liberate us. It seems **Jesse** has gotten the notion that Mick Jagger of the Rolling Stones has finally come out with a sexist song. Where has he been for the last century? **Jesse** says "It's degrading to black women." Then adds other women as well. I wonder where he saw the light? Is this really serious or just an attempt to gain publicity?

Sexist music has been around for as long as I can remember. There are songs that show us as women having babies to prove male virility, honky tonk women, stupid girls, under HIS thumb, strippers, broads, and cunts. **Jesse** you have only scratched the surface. If you want to help us don't ignore the real issues. Try talking about getting rid of roles and classes. Or how about women's rights to their own bodies? (Not to mention the intrusion of the State into our personal lives.)

I know there are many women that will say, "**Jesse** and men like him are helping us by raising their consciousness." I suppose you may have something there. But when are we going to stop letting ourselves be used by opportunists, who do not intend to deal with these important issues.



# ANARCHY

## WITHOUT GOVERNMENT

**ANARCHY** is a word which comes from the Greek and signifies, strictly speaking, **WITHOUT GOVERNMENT**: the state of a people without any constituted authority over them.

• • •

Before such an organisation had begun to be considered possible and desirable, the word **ANARCHY** was used in the sense of disorder and confusion, and it is still adopted in that sense by the ignorant and by adversaries interested in distorting the truth.

• • •

The government is the aggregate of those who have the power to make law. It decides upon and claims taxes. It judges and punishes those who break its laws. It supervises and sanctions private contracts. It monopolises certain branches of production and public services or, if it will, all production and public service. It promotes or hinders the exchange of goods. It concedes or withholds free trade. It makes war or peace with the governments of other countries. In short, the government has the power — no matter how obtained — to make use of the collective force of society to oblige each person to its wishes.

• • •

In all times and in all places, whatever may be the name that the government takes, whatever has been its origin, whatever its organisation, its essential function has always been oppression and exploitation, and the defense and protection of the oppressors and exploiters.

• • •

Its indispensable instruments are the policeman and the tax collector, the soldier, the judge, the jailer and the time serving civil servant and teacher — all supported and protected by the government to enforce the belief that without government chaos and disorder would reign.

• • •

When the public becomes convinced that government is not necessary, but extremely harmful, the word **ANARCHY**, because it signifies **WITHOUT GOVERNMENT**, will become equal to saying natural order, harmony of the needs and interests of all, complete liberty with complete solidarity.

IS GOVERNMENT NECESSARY?

WITHOUT GOVERNMENT — **ANARCHY**.

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# Luisa Capetillo: Anarchist, Feminist, Syndicalist

Mi Mi Rivera



Very few people know that most of the early revolutionary labor movements of Latin America were highly influenced by anarchism. There were anarchist influences in Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile. Another little known fact is the role women had in these movements. An example of this is Luisa Capetillo. Luisa Capetillo made important contributions as a journalist and organizer for the anarchist-syndicalist and womans movements of Puerto Rico.

Luisa Capetillo was born in Arecibo, Puerto Rico in 1880 or 1882. Her mother, Margarita Peron, a french woman, came to Puerto Rico at a young age, as a governess of a wealthy family from Arecibo. Margarita Peron worked hard and was a devoted domestic worker doing the ironing of the wealthy towns people. Luisa's father, Luis Capetillo Y Echevarria, came to Puerto Rico originally from Spain. He became a construction worker. Luisa grew up in Arecibo, where she was called "the daughter of the French maid". Her mother played an important role in her life. In 1910 Luisa dedicated her book on women to her mother. She wrote, "To you, mother of mine, whom never pushed me, nor did you ever think to think traditionally. You let me investigate freely not making me angry when you criticized me when you thought I was wrong."

Luisa's father taught her to read and write and the rules of arithmetic. She was a bright child and did well in school. She was very fond of literature and her favorite occupation was writing. Many people considered her a great journalist but she never received much recognition because the literary establishment decided she was too controversial.

She taught and propagated the ideas of free love. Not the love which can be interpreted as sexual promiscuity. She believed in a responsible free love. She taught that the oppression of women was due to economic reasons and saw woman's emancipation as part of the class struggle.



It was her opinion that legal matrimony was the sale of the woman to the man, who in turn, treated her like his own property. She advocated that men and women live together without legality or consent by the priests. (Whom she considered to be representatives of the hypocrisy of the established church.)

When she was young she often visited the home in which her mother worked. The son of Don Gregorio Ledesma, who later inherited the title of "Marquis of Arecibo Puerto Rico", fell in love with her and made her his mistress. They lived together for several years. He took care of her mother and their two children. She gave birth to a girl, Manuelita and a boy Gregorio (Gorjito). Both had their father's name even though Luisa never married. The Marquis wanted to marry her but the Marquesa, his mother, would never allow it. A Marquis could never marry out of his class. Luisa soon realized she did not want to spend the rest of her life as only a mother, housewife and lover. She was not a companion to the man she loved, but a servant who waited night after night, to please his whims. Her restlessness increased when the Marquis married a Puerto Rican woman of high society. Luisa felt that a man should be an intellectual and domestic companion as well as a sexual partner. She believed that man should share in the raising of the children. She broke off with the Marquis even though she loved him and found work in the needle trades. She soon found out that she could barely make a living. The Marquis had to pay for the education of their two children. Luisa went to work as a reader in a tobacco factory. Back then factories had readers who read to the people while they worked. The reader would sit on an elevated wooden platform and read, out loud, the day's paper, novels and other books of interest, including ones on anarchism and socialism. This is why many workers were learned even though they did not know how to read or write. Though her readings, Luisa became influenced by Syndicalist and anarchist theories. She joined the local Tobacco Union and read to the members of the Federated Unions of Tobacco (Federacion de Uniones de Tabaqueros).

Louisa believed that the woman should emancipate and educate herself in order

to be a good mother and a whole individual. How could a woman, illiterate and enslaved, raise her children to become independent women and men? In 1910 she proposed the formation of an agricultural school (Escuela Granja Agricola) where the skills and values of a



free society could be taught. Among these values was the recognition that sexuality is an important part of our lives and should not be hidden from any of us. It's ironic Luisa would say, that the woman from birth is hidden from the sexual facts of life and when a man marries her, he expects her to be a sex



expert.

Luisa fell in love with a merchant from Arecibo. She lived with him and had a third child. She named him Luis Capetillo. Her son followed in his mother's footsteps. Luis became a distinguished labor writer and took part in the social struggles of Puerto Rico.

Luisa often discussed her articles with her children. She said her children made many recommendations which she incorporated into her writings. Luisa believed children should be brought up with absolute liberty. In her books she showed her intense love for her children. She said she felt whole in being a mother. "I don't think I'd be fulfilled as a woman unless it was for the fact that I am a mother."



Luisa became increasingly involved in the leadership of the growing Puerto Rican labor movement. In 1907 she participated in a strike at an Arecibo factory and became a member of the Free Federation of Puerto Rican Workers. She was active both as a union organizer, and a reporter for the local newspaper, Worker's Union. At the 1908 general assembly of the federation, she proposed a resolution asking for woman's suffrage in Puerto Rico, without regard to literacy. (Twenty years later only literate Puerto Rican women were allowed to vote. Universal woman's suffrage was delayed until 1930.)

Luisa caused a scandal in Puerto Rico, Cuba and New York because she wore pants in public. She also often wore a short brimmed hat. She was the first woman in Puerto Rico to wear pants in the same manner that women used skirts. In 1915 she was tossed in jail, in Cuba, for wearing "men's clothing". She pleaded her case and convinced the authorities that no law forbade women to dress as they pleased, and was acquitted.

Luisa wrote many essays, pamphlets and a couple of books. In her book My Opinion (My Opinion) she gives her philosophy. "I am a socialist, because all advancements, discoveries and established inventions should belong to everyone, that is to establish their socialization without privileges. Some un-

derstand it as needing a State to direct the march, I understand it as having no government. I do not want to say that I oppose their reasons for wanting government regulation and control of wealth, but I maintain my dedication to no government socialism-anarchism."

One of her best pamphlets is still talked about La Humanidad en el futuro (Humanity in the Future). She exposes what she believes in a communist society, without social classes, and without government authority. She envisioned humanity of the future as a community of 10 persons whom unite little by little the people of all classes. All the possessions are given to the community. When the community has more than 11,000 persons, principally workers, they call for a general strike and when the capitalists find themselves without workers, they will decide to turn over the community to the people, where they will learn a new form of life.



Luisa read and was very influenced by Zola, Tolstoi, Malatesta and Kropotkin. She made her syndicalist debut in the 1907 strike of the tobacco workers in Arecibo. She shouted syndicalist slogans from a speakers podium to the workers. In 1908, being a member of the Union of Tobacco workers, she participated in the Fifth Workers Congress of the Free Federation of the Workers of Puerto Rico, that was held in Arecibo that year. At the congress, women's suffrage was discussed for the first time in Puerto Rican history. Luisa was never given any credit for starting it.

She spent much of her time lecturing around the island. At times she got some opposition from the townspeople. In the town of Utuado some people passed out leaflets putting her down. It is said that she responded to everything on the leaflet and made the leafleters look like fools.

In 1910 Luisa became a worker for the newspaper of the FLT. (Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores - Free Federation of the Workers) She also published a feminist magazine called La Mujer (The Woman) which was not allowed in any of the newspaper libraries.



Luisa corresponded with other anarchist and socialist women and men of Latin America. In 1912 she went to New York where she resided for some time, publishing articles in a newspaper called *Cultura Obrera* (Workers' Culture). From that paper she took her article, "La Mujer", and then published it in an anthology titled *Voces Se Liberacion* (Voices of Liberation). The book also included articles from distinguished feminists of the era like Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg.

In 1913 Luisa went to Florida and established herself for sometime in Tampa, Florida, where she collaborated on a paper called *La Union de Tampa* of the Union of Federated Twisters of the State of Florida, with which the Puerto Rican Workers maintained a loose affiliation.

Luisa went back to Puerto Rico to continue the fight for emancipation of women and workers. She continued involvement in strikes and writing in the newspapers. During May and June 1918 she led the agricultural strike of Ceiba. She was a representative of the FLT. There she was arrested for agitation of the workers. In 1919 she was one of the leaders of the agricultural strike of Vieques.

She died in April 1922, while living with her son Luis in the recently founded workers district, Buen Consejo de Rio Piedras. Her comrades from the FLT felt her lost and they expressed it in various articles praising the "syndicalist, anarchist, and feminist Capetillo". Her death was mentioned in almost all the Puerto Rican newspapers.

Luisa devoted her life to advocating a totally free society where everyone would have control over their own lives. I believe she was a forerunner of the feminist movement, an outstanding labor figure and an extraordinary woman. It saddens me that she was never given any recognition because in many ways she was ahead of her time. It makes me angry that the patriarchal society never kept her writings and destroyed much of her herstory. I hope that in this small way I have managed to shed some light on the forgotten life of Luisa Capetillo. \*Parts of this article have been loosely adapted from a translation of a pamphlet on Luisa Capetillo written by Norma Valle.

At Christmas my brother would get trains and chemistry sets and I would get dolls and carriages....



My brother would go out to play while I had to help my mother...



Boys with the same marks as mine went on to good jobs while I became a secretary...



When my husband and I come home at night I cook supper and wash the dishes while he watches T.V....



I'm unhappy.



Penis Envy



whalen



## THE YOUNGEST SIBLING'S GOD

by Ilene Miklos

You have been my idol, my god  
I respected you, ate, dressed and slept for you  
Wanted to always talk like you

One day my guide was gone  
As the follower, I was lost  
I couldn't think, I'd never done it for myself  
Decisions didn't come easy, I had lost the person I copied

The future became the present and I had strengthened  
Standing more erect, I became me, not a shadow  
My tastes and opinions developed, a person formed

Thinking and dreaming my own thoughts one day,  
I heard my ex-god was coming back  
Confusion flew through my head, my body trembled  
Decisions became twice as difficult, my mind was at conflict,  
With idol and self

You arrived and I found myself possessed once again,  
your power had weakened though  
Again and again my god left and came  
With each return this disciple found less perfection in the god.

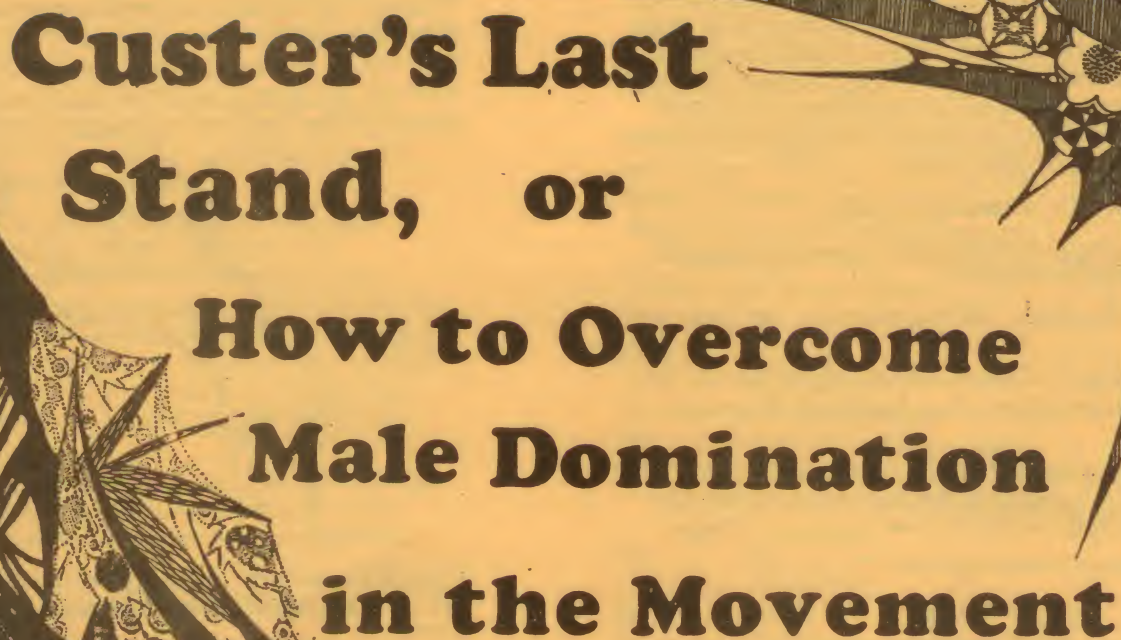
You are now my equal  
I recognize all your human qualities  
Our rapport is now healthy  
You are not my GOD











# Custer's Last Stand, or How to Overcome Male Domination in the Movement

By Bill Moyer and Alan Tuttle  
with drawings by Peg Averill

“Sexism isn’t the problem; anyone can talk when they want to,” declared one man. “It’s just that some of us have had more experience and can talk more easily in groups.”

We all support women’s liberation,” chimed in another man.

Around the room, reactions spanned a wide range: resentment, distraction, passive interest, eagerness and anxiousness.

At last week’s meeting, one woman confronted the men with her frustration at their domination of the group. A couple of people had supported her, but most seemed unaware or remained passive. Defensive anger had surfaced in several of the men, despite their best intentions.

The woman who spoke out last week is absent tonight. The group has been dwindling in size since shortly after its founding last year. Many excited newcomers have attended one or two meetings and never returned. Others stuck it out for months before fading away. The group of some 30 members has shrunk to half that; of the original 15 women, five remain.

## The Problem

A hypothetical situation—but a real problem, and all too familiar to those of us who have participated in progressive organizations. Most voluntary groups, such as social change groups, are dominated by a few people, with a small number of other regular members. These groups’ objectives—an equal, just, and democratic society—

seem unattainable even within their own domain. One informal study of a dozen small groups found that the most frequent talkers spoke nine times as often as the less frequent talkers. It is no surprise that newcomers often show once or twice and are not seen again.

Domination within social change groups may be one of the main reasons that so many of them are short-lived or have small membership with substantial turnover. People are all too often stifled by heavy-handed authority: bosses at work, parents or spouse at home, and teachers at school. Most people, and especially those who join social change groups, want not only to be accepted, but also to make a contribution and be an active participant. Movement groups, because of their basic values of justice and egalitarianism, are one forum where the common problems of domination could well be dealt with.

This guide is addressed to men and to how we can overcome our own oppressive behavior in mixed (male and female) groups. More often than not, men are the ones dominating group activity. Such behavior is therefore termed a “masculine behavior pattern,” not because women never act that way, but because it is generally men who do. Over the past few years there has been a tremendous increase in the awareness of many women and some men regarding masculine domination in groups. No longer is all-male leadership universally assumed or accepted. Unfortunately, groups often have great difficulty developing egalitarian relations even when everyone theoretically agrees with that ideal.

The following formulations are drawn primarily from our experience in the Philadelphia Network of the Movement for a New Society. While our focus is on changing behavior, we recognize that equally important is changing consciousness.

Men beginning to take responsibility for confronting our behavior must do so in an affirmative way. We are making a choice to take part in the liberation of all people, through changing our actions and our views of ourselves and the world. We



have been raised in a society which is oppressive at its very roots. We have learned to function in ways based on hierarchy and control. In addition to masculine domination, class, age, religion and race contribute to authoritarian structures. Our goals are to rid the society—and our own organizations—of these forms of domination.

### Common Pitfalls

The following are some of the more common problems to become aware of:

*Hogging the show.* Talking too much, too long, and too loud.

*Problem Solver.* Continually giving the answer or solution before others have had much chance to contribute.

*Speaking in Capital Letters.* Giving one's own solutions or opinions as the final word on the subject, often aggravated by tone of voice and body posture.



*Defensiveness.* Responding to every contrary opinion as though it were a personal attack. "People obviously didn't understand what I was saying. What I meant was..."

*Nitpicking.* Pointing out minor flaws in statements of others and stating the exception to every generality.

*Restating.* Especially what a woman has just said perfectly clearly.

*Attention seeking.* Using all sorts of dramatics to get the spot light.

*Task and content focus.* To the exclusion of nurturing individuals or the group through attention to process and form.

*Putdowns and one-upmanship.* "I used to believe that, but now..." or "How can you possibly say that...?"

*Negativism.* Finding something wrong or problematical in everything.

*Focus transfer.* Transferring the focus of the discussion to one's own pet issues in order to give one's own pet raps.

*Residual office holder.* Hanging on to formal powerful positions.

*Self-listening.* Formulating a response after the first few sentences, not listening to anything from that point on, and leaping in at the first pause.



*George Custerism.* Intransigency and dogmatism; taking a last stand for one's position on even minor items.

*Avoiding feelings.* Intellectualizing, withdrawing into passivity, or making jokes when it's time to share personal feelings.

*Condescension and paternalism.* "Now, do any women have something to add?"

*Being "on the make."* Treating women seductively; using sexuality to manipulate women.

*Seeking attention and support from women while competing with men.*

*Running the show.* Continually taking charge of tasks before others have a chance to volunteer.

*Graduate studentitis.* Protectively storing key group information for one's own use and benefit.

*Speaking for others.* "A lot of us think that we should..." or "What so and so really meant was..."

The full wealth of knowledge and skills is severely limited by such behavior. Women and men who are less assertive than others or who don't feel comfortable participating in a competitive atmosphere are, in effect, cut off from the interchange of experience and ideas. Those of us who always do a good deal of the talking will find we can learn a lot by contributing our share of the silence and listening to those around us.

If sexism isn't ended within social change groups there can't be a movement for real social change. Not only will the movement flounder amidst divisiveness, but the crucial issue of liberation from sex oppression will not be dealt with. Any change of society which does not include the freeing of women and men from oppressive sex role conditioning, from subtle as well as blatant forms of male supremacy, is incomplete.

### Becoming Responsible

Here are some specific ways we can be responsible to ourselves and others in groups:

*Limiting our talking time to our fair share.* With ten people in the group, we are entitled to roughly one-tenth of the total talking time.



*Not interrupting people who are speaking.* We can even leave space after each speaker, counting to five before speaking.

*Becoming a good listener.* Good listening is as important as good speaking. It's important not to withdraw when not speaking; good listening is active participation.

*Getting and giving support.* We can help each other be aware of and interrupt patterns of domination, as well as affirm each other as we move away from those ways. It is important that we men support and challenge each other, rather than asking women to do so. This will also allow women more space to break out of their own conditioned role of looking after men's needs while ignoring their own.

*Not giving answers and solutions.* We can give our opinions in a manner which says we believe our ideas to be valuable, but no more important than others' ideas.

*Relaxing.* The group will do fine without our anxiety attacks.

*Not speaking on every subject.* We need not share every idea we have, at least not with the whole group.

*Not putting others down.* We need to check ourselves when we are about to attack or 'one-up' another. We can ask ourselves, "Why am I doing this? What am I feeling? What do I need?"

*Nurturing democratic group process.* Learning democratic methods and adopting democratic structures and procedures will improve our group process.

*Interrupting others' oppressive behavior.* We should take responsibility for interrupting a brother who is exhibiting behavior which is oppressive to others and prohibits his own growth. It is no act of friendship to allow friends to continue dominating those around them. We need to learn caring and forthright ways of doing this.

Acknowledging our short-comings makes us vulnerable, whereas we have been taught to be invulnerable and to dominate and compete with one another. The process of changing, therefore, requires strong support in a safe atmosphere. That

is why it is important that men meet together to work on this in an affirming supportive group.

### **A Men's Agenda**

The methods listed above can all be put into practice by individual men for everyone's benefit. Yet the really substantial changes which will empower women and less assertive men must be in the group's process, that is, in the way the group does its work. This change requires more than the separate acts of caring men; it requires alternative structures which are stable through time and liberate the potential of all.

We suggest that men engage in the following toward development of democratic structures and egalitarian group relations. Through two sessions totaling three to four hours, and shorter follow-up sessions, much progress can be made in becoming aware of and changing dominating behavior. The

momentum from this process might lead to an ongoing men's group which could spend fun time together, focus on other aspects of sexism, and explore various issues in men's lives.

The process is a liberating one; rather than emphasizing guilt in defining ourselves as oppressor, the focus is on liberation: freeing ourselves! This includes affirmation of who we are and recognition of who we can become.

An agenda for the first meeting of the men's caucus could be as follows:

Minutes	Agenda
5	Gathering
5	Agenda Review
15	Self-affirmation as males
20	Rap and discussion (optional): "Why we need to work on dominating behavior in groups."
15	Sharing feelings (nervous? bored? excited?)
10	Game
20	Brainstorm (optional): "Ways men dominate in groups, and specific ways to overcome such behavior."
10	Break
90	Self-estimation/estimation (time for affirmative and critical sharing about each man's participation in the group, see below).
10	Plan future meetings
10	Evaluation (positives and "to be improved's").

The "self-estimation/estimation" exercise is the central part of the agenda. Each man takes a turn sharing ways he has grown as a sensitive group participant and areas in which he still needs to grow, and then getting responses from the group.

It begins with a ten minute quiet time for each man to think about himself regarding these two areas. Then someone volunteers to be the first person focused on by the whole group. After three minutes of "think time" in which all the men think about this first man, he shares for five minutes his thinking about himself while the group listens. For the following ten minutes, members of the group share their thinking about him; how they've seen him grow and specific areas where they see changes needed. After all the men have shared, the first man has three more minutes to respond. This is time to focus on what specific things he will be trying to change, how he will be going about this, and what specific support he will need from men in the group. Contracts for support can be made at that time.

This whole process is then repeated for each man, with a 20 to 25 minute limit for each. If the group is larger than six, it might want to break into two separate groups or have a second meeting to complete the process. Follow-up sessions give the men a chance to appreciate changes in group participation and to get continued support. Repeating the self-estimation/estimation exercise, forming support pairs, doing peer counseling, and playing are other ways support can be given.



Increasingly in mixed groups there is heavy criticism of men. This is an important, positive development in the movement and essential for progress towards a better society. Although this criticism is usually accurate, it doesn't feel very good. And sometimes there is undeserved criticism mixed in with it, which feels even worse and is frustrating and confusing.

It is important that men not allow their pain and frustration in this situation to build into anger and hostility. Instead, we must acknowledge these feelings, share them, and begin to deal with them. We probably will find that these feelings, in reaction to the necessary challenging of our old behavior, are just part of the normal pain of growing and changing. And, for those times when criticism has been unjust, feelings of pain and confusion are particularly reasonable and appropriate. Through mutual support, men can respond to this without resorting to a counter-attack.

dominate others, and struggling to change this behavior is a crucial starting point. And it is crucial to the movement.

The initial impetus for the men's movement came from women challenging the sexism of the men around them. Men, therefore, often get together as a defensive measure or out of guilt. A group of guilt-ridden men with an image of themselves as nothing but oppressors have nowhere to go but down. Their focus is on how terrible they are rather than on how their potential has been limited by society. The process of growing from infancy to boyhood to manhood teaches us to be oppressive and is extremely deleterious to our own natural growth as human beings.

Men need to recognize and concentrate on our qualities of love, of deep concern and caring which have been suppressed. We can overcome the barriers which prevent us from being the full humans we are. Men's groups must affirm the human qualities of men and be a space in which men can reclaim those qualities through trust and support.

Reprint of article in WIN Magazine



### A Men's Anti-sexism Movement

The maintenance of present society depends upon the male population continuing to be the competitive, unfeeling people we are taught to be. The political system needs "tough" men to fight its imperialistic wars. The economic system needs highly competitive, materialistic men to fill low-level and management jobs in industry and business.

A strong men's anti-sexism movement is needed to challenge that social order. It will help men become conscious of our own pains and needs, to recognize how we dominate others, and to give support to each other in our own struggle for liberation. Becoming conscious of the ways men



A new idea...



# THE COST OF A WIFE'S JOB

7:30 AM  
GET UP



8 TO 8:30 MAKE BREAKFAST - 1/2 HOUR  
AT \$1.25 PER HOUR



8:40 TO 9 AM TAKE  
CHILDREN TO  
SCHOOL \$2.50  
PER HOUR



9-9:20 RETURN  
HOME - \$2.50  
PER HOUR

9:20 TO 10  
REST



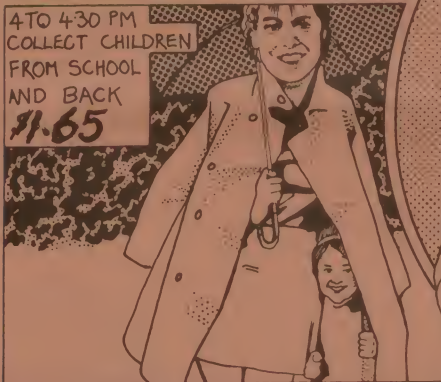
10 AM TO 1 PM : CLEANING \$1.25 PER HOUR



2 TO 4 PM SHOPPING \$1.25  
PER HOUR



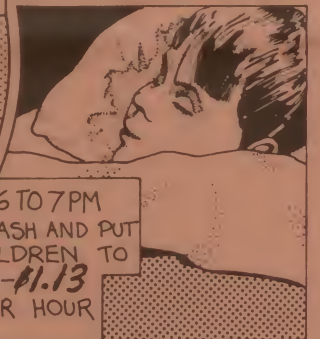
4 TO 4:30 PM  
COLLECT CHILDREN  
FROM SCHOOL  
AND BACK  
\$1.65



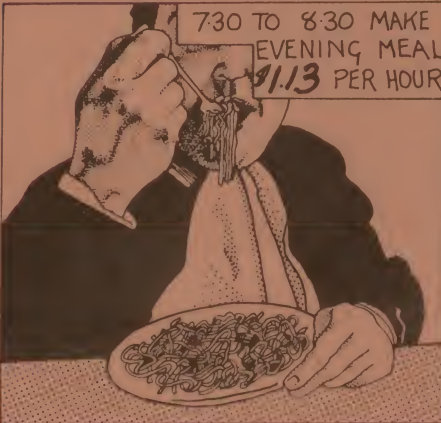
4:30 TO  
5:15 : MAKE  
AND CLEAR  
TEA \$1.25  
PER HOUR



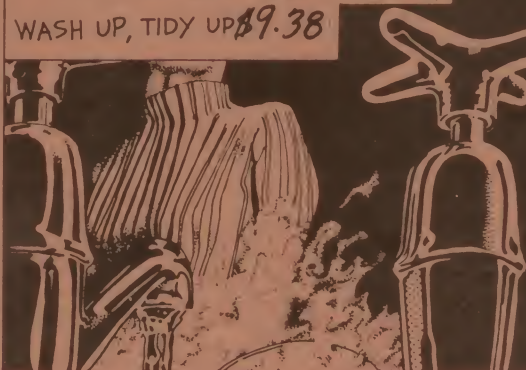
6 TO 7 PM  
WASH AND PUT  
CHILDREN TO  
BED - \$1.13  
PER HOUR



7:30 TO 8:30 MAKE  
EVENING MEAL  
\$1.13 PER HOUR



7 TO 10 PM : LAY TABLE, CLEAR,  
WASH UP, TIDY UP \$9.38



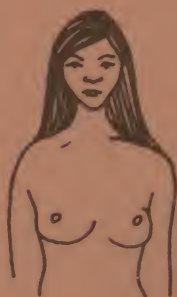
TOTAL COST \$22.70  
AND THIS EXCLUDES  
THE COST OF GARDENING,  
DECORATING THE HOUSE,  
NURSING.....AND THE  
WEAR AND TEAR OF  
PUTTING UP WITH  
THE FAMILY SEVEN  
DAYS A WEEK.

Reprint from Work by Colin Ward

## SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

1 year - four issues = \$3.00 \* Your money helps us exist. Subscribe if you can afford it.





# BREAST SELF-EXAMINATION

**1** Sit or stand in front of your mirror, arms relaxed at your sides, and look for any changes in size, shape and contour. Also look for puckering or dimpling of the skin and changes on the surface of the nipples. Gently press each nipple to see if any discharge occurs.



**2** Raise both arms over your head, and look for exactly the same things. Note differences since you last examined your breasts.



**3** From here on you will be trying to find a lump or thickening. Lie down on your bed, put a pillow or a bath towel under your left shoulder, and your left hand under your head. With the fingers of your right hand held together flat, press gently against the breast with small circular motions to feel the inner, upper portion of your left breast, starting at your breastbone and going outward toward the nipple line. Also feel the area around the nipple.



**4** With the same gentle pressure, feel the low inner part of your breast. Incidentally, in this area you will feel a ridge of firm tissue. Don't be alarmed. This is normal.



**5** Now bring your left arm down to your side and, still using the flat part of the fingers of your right hand, feel under your left armpit.



**6** Use the same gentle pressure to feel the upper, outer portion of your left breast from the nipple line to where your arm is resting.



**7** And finally, feel the lower outer portion of your breast, going from the outer part to the nipple.



**8** Repeat the entire procedure, as described, on the right breast using the left hand for the examination.

Your own doctor may want you to use a slightly different method of examination. Ask him to teach you that method.

Examine your breasts every month, about one week after each menstrual period. Be sure to continue these checkups after your change of life.

If you find a lump or thickening, leave it alone until you see your doctor. Don't be frightened. Most breast lumps or changes are not cancer, but only your doctor can tell.

Illustrated by Chinese Women's Health Clinic



NOTES AND THINGS

NEW ALBUM

SONGS OF FIRE: songs of a Lesbian Anarchist by Kathy Fire, flute and piano improvisations  
by Mojo sound by Marilyn Ries

"Passionate protests and Amazon affirmations" Barbara Ruth (biased but true)

TO ORDER: send 6\$ to: Fireworks c/o 4494 Arch st. San Diego, Ca. 92116

if you want the album but don't have \$6 write and we'll talk about it.

This letter was overlooked, and it was felt that it should be printed

April 25, 1978

Hi, Just a brief note here. I'm in the midst of moving (next week) and trying to sort out  
and pack (and save) anarchist and feminist material and files and such. I'm very concerned  
that nothing be lost- books, papers, letters, leaflets etc. So it all goes with me.

I heard from Peggy Kornegger recently, and she, and I would like to complete an A-F  
anthology. (Work on the book has been disrupted so often we may set publication date for a  
possible "3rd. Wave" of feminism.) About the book:

We need good well written theoretical articles (something we'll all have to work on). I'm  
looking for biographical profiles of anarchist and libertarian woman; contemporary and his-  
torical accounts of woman's participation in labor, radical, and feminist movements; perhaps  
even poetry, artwork, satire (I like cartoons and photos by/about women). I'd also like  
anarchist critiques of authoritarian theory and organization, etc, and feminist critique of  
syndicalism, anarchist organization etc. I'm particularly anxious to locate material from  
Spain's "Mujeres Libres"--essential for this collection.

I'll try and keep people informed of progress of book-I do have material here, but haven't  
been able to devote time to it.

Good luck with next issue--I hope it has more depth and analysis than previous newsletters.  
I have been increasingly disillusioned by development of authoritarian, liberal-reformist  
and bourgeois tendencies in the woman's movement. I wish we were more of a presence to  
challenge these privileged elitist.

Arlene Meyers

New Address as of 5/4/78

820 W. Belle plaine Av. #2112

Chicago, Il. 60613



We will be editing the February, 1980 issue of Feminist Studies—special issue on anarchism and feminism. Feminist Studies is more scholarly than Second Wave or Quest, but the editors try to be political and feminist, and to have the articles written in language non-academics can read.

Here are some of the ideas we had for papers:

Anarchist feminism, socialist feminism, and the state

Health care (anarchist views on sterilization, etc.; or the self-help movement and anarchism, etc.)

The welfare state, state socialism, and feminism

Feminist art and anarchism

Worker control and feminism

Feminist education (e.g. anarchist aspects of F. Friere; feminist teaching as anarchist, etc.)

Domination and subordination: relation to anarchism and feminism

Adult domination: subordination of children and feminism

Papers on or by anarchist feminists of yore: Emma Goldman, Lucy Parsons, etc.

Historical documents, or papers on historical aspects of anarchism and feminism

Studies of women in anarchist movements

Feminism and the ecology movement

Anarchism and third world women (what they are doing; or why anarchism is relevant)

Feminist seizures of power of various sorts

We would also like:

POETRY

GRAPHICS. We'd particularly like graphics in the anarchist spirit, poking fun at the state, at Marxists, etc.

Review of the literature; of anarchist publications; anarchistic-feminist organizations

The first deadline for papers is February 1, 1979. That deadline is for initial screening of papers. The ultimate deadline for final drafts which incorporate reader and editorial suggestions is July 1, 1979. The issue begins going to the copyeditor, typesetter and to press in September.

We would appreciate your contributions, your talking to people who might contribute to this issue, and your suggestions on whom we might write asking for advice or contributions. We are: Kathryn Pyre Parsons, Department of Philosophy and Martha A. Ackelsberg, Department of Government, both at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts 01063.



# ZERO HOUR

Don't panic . . . but *Zero* is broke. (Now panic!) After over a year since we first appeared we've finally run out of money. It's cost over £3000 to produce seven issues and we just haven't had that kind of income flowing back to offset it. Now we've hit the crisis: no money—no *Zero*. We want every one who reads this issue to support us, in fact we want every one to send us £1 immediately on reading this appeal.

There are other things you can do too. Don't balk at the new cover price. We've always been reluctant to charge a higher price simply because we don't like the idea of anarchist papers being expensive. So when we did increase the cover price by a quarter, last issue, we increased the size by one third. But from now on we're going to charge a more realistic price. The costs of putting out this issue are: printing £375, post £70, typesetting £100 and artwork £70. That totals over £600.

Become a hardcore reader, subscribe! Subscriptions not only allow us to miss out on the distributor's percentage, but, being an advance, substantially underwrite the paper's operation. To date two hundred subscribers have injected nearly £700 into *Zero*. We need two hundred more.

Lastly we have to sell more copies. If just one or two thousand more people bought *Zero*, not only would we be spreading more anarchy (delicious thought!), but, such are the economics of newspaper production, *Zero* would quickly break-even or even be able to cut its price.

The situation is simply that we have no money to produce the next issue. If you can't imagine the future without *Zero*, if you want to live to read *Zero*8, or if you just think you look chic with *Zero* under your arm . . . It's in your hands. Let's recap. You send us £1 right away, Right! With a subscription if you don't already have one. And you encourage every one you know (show them this issue) to become regular *Zero* readers. OK? Don't panic—just send the money.

**cut it out-NOW!**

Dear *Zero*, (tick box as applicable)

- ☐ Your story has touched my heart. Here's £1. Put it to good use.
- ☐ Your story has not touched my heart, but I don't want to see my all-time favourite newsmagazine go under. Reluctantly here's £1.
- ☐ I'm filthy rich. Here's a donation of £ . . . . . on condition you withhold my name and address.
- ☐ I fell for the line about subscriptions. Please subtract £ . . . . . (UK £3; International Air £4 or US \$6.50) from my donation towards my subscription.

Lots of love, and good luck X X X X X

My name is . . . . .  
I live at . . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . . Zip Code . . . . .

Send to: **ZERO, Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N.1.**





Mimi %

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P. O. B. 801  
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60204



To:

